

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-10 AID-05 /087 W  
----- 073368

R 090215Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY DACCA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6667

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY RANGOON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L DACCA 2267

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PGOV, BG, IN, PK, UR, CH, BM

SUBJECT: THE FIRST HUNDRED DAYS OF THE "SECOND REVOLUTION"

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SUMMARY OF AIRGRAM ASSESSING  
FIRST ONE HUNDRED DAYS OF SHEIKH MUJIB'S "SECOND  
REVALUTION". AIRGRAM BEING FORWARDED ADDRESSEES FIRST  
AVAILABLE CLASSIFIED POUCH.

2. BEGIN TEXT. ON JANUARY 25, THE CONSTITUTION OF  
BANGLADESH WAS RADICALLY AMENDED TO CONFER ON SHEIKH  
MUJIBUR RAHMAN THE FORM OF WHAT HE ALREADY POSSESSED IN  
SUBSTANCE; VIRTUALLY COMPLETE POWER TO CONTROL, BY ACTS  
OF COMMISSION OR OMISSION, THE DESTINIES OF BANGLADESH  
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AND THE BANGALEES. BY THE AMENDMENTS, SHEIKH MUJIB HAS

ALMOST COMPLETELY ELIMINATED INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES; HE HAS ALSO EXERCISED HIS POWER TO CREATE A SINGLE PARTY -- THE BANGLADESH KRISHAK SRAMIK AWAMI LEAGUE (BAKSAL) -- WHICH CIVIL SERVANTS AND MILITARY PERSONNEL MAY JOIN, THUS RAISING THE SPECTRE OF A TOTALITARIAN STATE. DUBBING THE VAST CHANGES A "SECOND REVOLUTION", HE SET AS HIS GOALS (A) ENDING CORRUPTION, (B) ATTAINING SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN FACTORY AND ON FARMS, (C) CONTROLLING POPULATION GROWTH, AND (D) STRENGTHENING NATIONAL UNITY.

3. THE "SECOND REVOLUTION" HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY EXTENSIVE RHETORIC, BUT ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS ARE STILL SPARSE. IN THE FIRST HUNDRED DAYS OF THE "SECOND REVOLUTION"

- IMPROVEMENT IN POLICY FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION HAS BEEN NEGLIGIBLE, DESPITE MUCH SELF-CONGRATULATION; DEMONETIZATION WAS THE MOST HEARTENING DISPLAY OF DECISIVENESS, BUT ITS AFTER-EFFECTS SUGGEST LESS ATTENTION TO CONSEQUENCES THAN REQUIRED.
- ADMINISTRATIVE RESTRUCTURING HAS BEEN LIMITED. WHILE POPULATION CONTROL IS ASSIGNED NEW IMPORTANCE IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS, THE ADMINISTRATIVE AFTERMATH HAS ONLY JUST BEGUN AND ITS EFFECT REMAINS TO BE SEEN. HOWEVER, FUNDAMENTAL RESTRUCTURING OF GOVERNMENT MAY LIE JUST AHEAD, AND WITH INCALCULABLE CONSEQUENCES.
- CORRUPTION AND SMUGGLING HAVE RECEIVED INCREASED ATTENTION; HOWEVER, ARRESTS FOR CORRUPTION, WHILE MORE NUMEROUS PERHAPS, HAVE CAUGHT NO SENIOR POLITICAL FIGURES AND THE CHECK ON SMUGGLING MAY HAVE BEEN ONLY TEMPORARY, REFLECTING THE USE OF THE ARMY TO SUPPLEMENT POLICE AND RAKKHI BAHINI AS WELL AS THE EFFECT OF DEMONETIZATION. INTERNAL SECURITY REMAINS FRAGILE. ALTHOUGH THE BDG CLAIMS GREATER SUCCESS IN CAPTURING AND CHECKING TERRORISTS, THE MURDER OF POLITICAL LEADERS, DACOITIES AND ATTACKS ON POLICE STATIONS CONTINUE, AND THERE HAS BEEN SOME LOOTING OF PADDY GODOWNS. CENTER OF THIS TROUBLE HAS BEEN THE DISTRICTS BORDERING WEST BENGAL.

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4. POPULAR RESPONSE TO THE "SECOND REVOLUTION" HAS BEEN TEPID, AT BEST. FEW BANGALEES SEEM PREPARED AT THIS TIME TO UNDERTAKE OUTRIGHT OPPOSITION, RECOGNIZING THAT IT MUST BE EXTRA-LEGAL AND THUS HIGHLY HAZARDOUS. RATHER, THE PRIMARY REACTION HAS BEEN PASSIVE ACQUIESCENCE. SHEIKH MUJIB HAS ENDEAVORED TO AROUSE ENTHUSIASM FOR THE "SECOND REVOLUTION" THROUGH CIRCUSES, IF LITTLE BREAD. HOWEVER, BANGALEES ARE RESERVING JUDGMENT PENDING

CONCRETE ACCOMPLISHMENTS DEMONSTRATING THAT THE BDG CAN DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH THE ISSUES WHICH MOST CONCERN THEM: SHORTAGES AND HIGH PRICES.

5. IF PERFORMANCE IS TO BE THE CRITERION, THE FIRST 100 DAYS OF THE "SECOND REVOLUTION" OFFER SMALL COMFORT. THEY DEMONSTRATE THAT ITS PRIMARY RESULT HAS BEEN THE GREATER PERSONALIZATION OF RULE BY SHEIKH MUJIB, AND THUS FORCE CONSIDERATION OF HIS STYLE AND EFFECTIVENESS. IN DEALING WITH INDIVIDUALS, HE USES COMPROMISE, MANIPULATION, PROMISES, AND ACCOMODATION (BUT WILL FALL BACK ON INTIMIDATION); NONE OF THESE CONTRIBUTES TO SWIFT ACTION. REGARDING POLICIES AND PROGRAMS, HE SEEKS A RANGE OF IDEAS AND ADVICE, BUT RELIES ON HIMSELF TO DETERMINE FINALLY ON A GIVEN COURSE OF ACTION, AN APPROACH WHICH SUFFERS FROM HIS LIMITED ABILITY TO DEAL WITH COMPLICATED AND TECHNICAL SUBJECTS.

6. IN THIS SETTING, SHEIKH MUJIB'S MARGIN FOR ERROR IS NARROWER THAN EVER. HE HAS ASSUMED SOLE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY SHORTCOMINGS OF THE BDG, HIS POPULAR SUPPORT HAS BEEN FURTHER ERODED, AND HIS OWN PERSONAL BURDEN OF PROVING ACCOMPLISHMENT IS INCREASED. END TEXT.  
BOSTER

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